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ABSTRACT

After their freshman year in college in 1966, 1744 outstanding black high school students who had reached the Commended stage of competition in the first National Achievement Scholarship Program were followed up for study. They were classified according to the type of 4-year college attended: public or private predominantly Negro colleges, or low, moderate or high selectivity predominantly white schools. There were marked differences among the students attending the different types of colleges in socioeconomic status, performance on a standardized test of educational development, and regional and high school background. The public Negro colleges tended to enroll those who were most disadvantaged, both economically and educationally, while students at the highly selective white colleges tended to come from the most advantaged families and educational backgrounds. Overall freshman performance was quite high in all institutions, but students in the predominantly Negro colleges had higher grades than those in the predominantly white colleges. College type was also associated with the career choices and goals they expressed. (Author/AF)

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ABSTRACT

Outstanding black high school students who reached the Commended stage of competition in the first National Achievement Scholarship Program were followed up in 1966, following their freshman year in college. The 1,744 men and women with followup information were classified in five groups representing the type of four-year college they entered. Predominantly Negro colleges were classified as public and private, and largely white colleges as low, moderate, and high selectivity schools. Able black students enrolling in the five types of colleges differed markedly on socioeconomic status, performance on a standardized test of educational development, and regional and high school background; similar patterns were evident for men and women. In general, the public Negro colleges enrolled, from these outstanding high school students, those who were most disadvantaged, both economically and educationally; entrants to the highly selective white colleges tended to come from the most advantaged family and educational backgrounds. While their overall freshman performance was quite high, these able students reported different levels of academic achievement in the five types of colleges. College type was also associated with the career choices and goals they expressed.

ABLE BLACK AMERICANS IN COLLEGE: ENTRY AND FRESHMAN EXPERIENCES

Fred H. Borgen

Coleman et al. (1966) state that there are "huge gaps in our knowledge about the complex sorting processes by which students do or do not attempt higher education, and arrive on one campus rather than another (p. 417)." Although these sorting processes are incompletely understood, there has been particular concern with the factors associated with the access and distribution of black Americans in higher education. Some observers (e.g., Dyer, 1967; Jencks and Reisman, 1967; and Harding, 1968) fear that increased recruiting of blacks by the traditionally white colleges is creating a "black brain drain," depriving the predominantly Negro institutions of many of their best students.

Until recently, little nationwide information has been available for examining the distribution of blacks among different types of colleges. Recent contributions include a survey of black students in public land grant colleges (Egerton, 1969) and a report on 12,300 blacks entering 358 public and private institutions (Bayer and Boruch, 1969). The latter study, the first in a projected series of annual surveys by the American Council on Education, provides normative, "benchmark," data on blacks in American colleges; future surveys are expected to indicate any shifts in the student populations of different kinds of colleges, presumably as a result of changing recruitment and admissions practices or changing preferences of black students.

This paper describes able black students entering different types of colleges, with a focus on their family and high school backgrounds, performance on standardized tests, college entrance experiences, freshman-year performance, and career aspirations and goals. Since, 1964, the National Achievement Scholarship Program for outstanding Negroes has identified and encouraged able

black high school students to continue their formal education. This program provides an opportunity to explore several questions regarding a select group of able black students, first identified while high school students and followed into college--into the predominantly Negro and predominantly white colleges, and the highly selective and the less selective colleges. What kinds of colleges do these able black students attend? What are the characteristics of able blacks who enter different types of colleges? What are the experiences and attitudes of black freshmen in different types of colleges?

METHOD

SAMPLE

In a national competition, outstanding black high school seniors (1964-1965) were nominated by their high school principals for participation in the first Achievement Program. Of the 4,288 students nominated 2,587 were awarded Commended status by a committee which studied the student's high school record and other information. After the Commended students completed an academic aptitude test and submitted additional information, a second committee identified a group of 629 Finalists; from the Finalists, 224 Scholars were selected. This paper describes the students who were awarded Commended status as high school seniors and who reported one year later (1966) by followup questionnaire that they had entered a four-year college.

Special characteristics of the sample. Since students entered this competition through high school nomination, they are, as one might expect, among the highest ranking black students in their high schools. Table 1 shows that, although both men and women ranked high in their high school classes, this was particularly true for Southern students and for students from predominantly black high schools. Since test scores were not used for advancement to Commended status, it is not surprising, however, that there is considerable variability in test performance. National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test

(NMSQT; Science Research Associates, 1964) results were located for 1,262 (72%) of these students. The pattern of mean NMSQT selection scores (Table 2) was the reverse of that found for high school rank. The students from the South and those from predominantly Negro high schools on the average ranked highest in their classes but scored lowest on the NMSQT.

The results which follow do not refer to a random sample of all black students in American colleges. Rather, this paper concerns a special group of young men and women who were probably among the highest ranking black students in their respective high schools.

Table 1
Mean High School Rank by Region and Racial Composition of High School

	Males			Females			Total		
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N
Total	91.7	11.3	559	93.8	9.1	985	93.0	10.0	1544
Region									
South	96.0	4.8	252	95.7	6.9	548	95.8	6.3	800
Nonsouth	88.2	13.7	307	91.3	10.9	437	90.3	12.2	744
Racial Composition of High School									
More than 89% black	96.4	4.7	258	96.8	3.7	561	96.7	4.0	819
20-89% black	91.1	10.4	114	93.3	7.2	174	92.4	8.6	288
Less than 20% black	84.9	15.3	163	87.1	14.1	187	86.1	14.7	350

Table 2
Mean NMSQT Scores by Region and Racial Composition of High School

	Males			Females			Total		
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N
Total	109.5	17.8	450	104.0	18.7	812	106.0	18.5	1262
Region									
South	103.3	19.1	195	97.8	18.6	416	99.5	18.9	611
Nonsouth	114.2	15.2	255	110.7	16.3	396	112.0	16.0	651
Racial Composition of High School									
More than 89% black	102.9	18.5	208	98.0	18.3	436	99.5	18.5	644
20-89% black	113.2	14.7	88	108.8	16.9	153	110.4	16.2	241
Less than 20% black	116.8	14.8	141	112.6	15.9	169	114.5	15.5	310

FOLLOWUP QUESTIONNAIRE

In the summer of 1966, approximately one year following high school graduation, all participants in the first Achievement Program were mailed a questionnaire inquiring about their progress. Burgdorf (1969) presented a descriptive summary of these followup results. The present study, which compares students attending different types of colleges, uses several of the followup questions dealing with college entrance and students' experiences during the 1965-1966 freshman year. Table 3 shows the rate of return of followup questionnaires for students in the Commended group and, for those who responded, the number attendirg four-year colleges.

Table 3
Followup Response Rate and College Attendance
for Commended Students

	Males		Females	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Total Commended 1964-1965	985	100.0	1602	100.0
1966 followup not returned	313	31.8	381	23.8
Entered four-year college in 1965	628	63.8	1116	69.7
Entered other college in 1965	29	2.9	66	4.1
Did not enter college in 1965	11	1.1	34	2.1
College status not reported	4	.4	5	.3

TYPES OF COLLEGES

Using McGrath's (1965) list of predominantly Negro colleges, colleges were classified as predominantly Negro or white. Negro institutions were further classified as either public or private. White institutions were grouped to reflect the academic ability of their student populations. Classifications on this dimension were made using Astin's (1965) selectivity index, an estimate derived from the ratio of the number of high ability students planning to attend a college to the number of students actually admitted. Astin's standard T-score selectivity index was used as follows to group white colleges: 37 to

54, low selectivity; 55 to 62, moderate selectivity; and 63 to 81, high selectivity. Those classified as highly selective represent approximately the top 10% of all colleges on the selectivity dimension, the moderately selective are the next 20% on this dimension, and the low selectivity colleges are scattered throughout the lower 70%. Clearly, the classification of colleges as having low selectivity is relative in this paper. Overall, these able black students were attending the nation's more selective institutions; the median college selectivity score for these students was 59, at the 81st percentile on the national norms. For the 302 students classified here as attending low selectivity colleges, one-half (150) were actually attending colleges with selectivity scores from 51 to 54, above the national mean.

RESULTS

The attendance patterns of these able men and women in different types of colleges are shown in Table 4. The predominantly Negro colleges were not outstandingly successful in attracting these able students; 29% of the men and 43% of the women attended a largely Negro school. For all black students in four-year colleges, current estimates (Bayer and Boruch, 1969, Table 2) indicate that about 55% attend predominantly Negro colleges. Although nationally the public Negro institutions enroll about 60% of the students attending

Table 4
Distribution of Commended Men and Women in Different Types of Colleges

Type of College Attended	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Predominantly Negro:				
Private	127	20.2	288	25.8
Public	53	8.5	191	17.1
Predominantly white:				
Low selectivity	90	14.3	212	19.0
Moderate selectivity	141	22.5	193	17.3
High selectivity	193	30.7	187	16.8
Selectivity unknown	24	3.8	45	4.0
Total	628	100.0	1116	100.0

primarily Negro schools (Office for Advancement of Public Negro Colleges, 1969), their share of these able students was only 37%.

The men were especially well represented in the highly selective white colleges--the most competitive and prestigious in the nation. About one-half of the men and one-third of the women attended predominantly white colleges of at least moderate selectivity (i.e., the upper 30% for all colleges).

ABLE BLACKS IN FIVE TYPES OF COLLEGES

The precollege characteristics and college experiences of students attending the five types of colleges described earlier were contrasted. Tables 5 through 8 present descriptive data for men and women; except where otherwise noted, all of the characteristics shown significantly ($p < .05$) differentiate (either by analysis of variance or chi-square) the students in the five types of colleges. Where appropriate, means are presented, with the last two columns of the tables containing the index omega-squared, an estimate of the strength of association (Hays, 1965, pp. 381-384) between the relevant descriptive variable and attendance at the different types of colleges.

PRECOLLEGE CHARACTERISTICS

The family characteristics shown in Table 5 (education, occupation, income, and family size) broadly reflect socioeconomic status (SES). The public Negro colleges were most likely to enroll students ranking low on the SES dimension. Students in these colleges most frequently came from families of large size and low average income, with fathers who were unskilled. Parental education of students in the public Negro colleges was low, with the rate of parental high school graduation half that for students attending highly selective colleges.

On most indicators of SES the students in this sample who attended private Negro institutions resembled the enrollees in low selectivity white schools. The one exception was the relatively high rate of college graduation among

Table 5

Precollege Characteristics of Able Men and Women Attending Different Types of Colleges

Precollege Characteristics	Type of College Attended: Predominantly Negro, Private M	Predominantly Negro, Private F	Predominantly Negro, Public M	Predominantly Negro, Public F	Predominantly White, Low Sel. M	Predominantly White, Low Sel. F	Predominantly White, Mod. Sel. M	Predominantly White, Mod. Sel. F	Predominantly White, High Sel. M	Predominantly White, High Sel. F	Omega Squared M	Omega Squared F
N=	127	288	53	191	90	212	141	193	193	187		
FAMILY BACKGROUND												
Father unskilled	22.3	22.3	40.0	33.2	23.5	23.0	17.9	20.0	16.4	16.9		
Father high school graduate	53.0	54.6	33.3	34.3	51.9	54.0	69.5	64.7	68.0	78.4		
Father college graduate	27.4	25.5	14.6	11.6	18.5	16.2	22.9	21.6	36.5	43.8		
Mother high school graduate	60.8	63.9	35.3	47.6	65.9	62.6	77.0	75.3	80.0	88.0		
Mother college graduate	25.8	32.3	17.7	14.6	15.9	17.1	19.4	24.7	35.1	42.9		
Five or more children	41.7	33.2	46.2	47.6	40.4	28.2	29.5	25.1	21.9	16.2		
Mean number of children	4.7	4.0	4.8	5.1	4.3	4.0	3.7	3.6	3.4	3.1	.04	.05
Mean family income (Finalists only)	5,752	6,215	4,433	4,400	6,400	5,974	6,463	7,974	8,526	10,481	.07	.09
HIGH SCHOOL												
Located in South	84.2	84.7	100.0	97.4	41.1	42.0	29.8	28.0	27.5	25.7		
Less than 20% black	11.8	6.6	2.0	4.3	41.4	29.3	36.0	30.0	41.8	35.8		
20-89% black	6.7	4.8	0.0	2.2	19.5	23.2	28.7	36.1	26.5	32.7		
More than 89% black	81.5	88.6	98.0	93.5	39.1	47.5	35.3	33.9	31.8	31.5		
2,700 or more books in library	75.2	77.3	64.4	62.0	80.5	80.7	87.0	87.5	87.5	93.3		
Mean size of senior class	218.3	216.4	93.6	117.1	322.4	334.9	448.9	407.6	396.6	406.5	.13	.16
ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE												
Mean high school rank	94.3	95.3	95.3	5.6	89.4	92.2	90.1	92.6	91.6	92.9	.02	.02
Mean NMSQT scores, based on N of:	73	193	20	98	61	155	110	156	169	176		
English subtest	18.5	20.7	16.7	19.1	20.2	21.2	20.3	21.5	22.6	24.9	.13	.15
Mathematics subtest	20.4	19.1	17.5	17.9	21.4	19.8	22.2	20.8	24.5	23.4	.16	.15
Social Studies subtest	19.4	19.6	17.1	18.0	20.7	20.3	22.1	21.7	23.9	24.1	.17	.17
Natural Science subtest	19.9	18.3	17.3	17.7	21.5	19.7	22.3	20.6	24.4	22.7	.18	.15
Word Usage subtest	19.2	19.0	16.4	17.1	19.9	20.5	22.3	22.1	24.4	25.4	.25	.29
Composite Score	19.5	19.3	16.9	18.0	20.7	20.3	21.9	21.3	23.9	24.1	.30	.28
Selection Score	97.4	96.8	84.9	89.8	103.7	101.6	109.2	106.6	119.8	120.5	.29	.28
Standard deviation of Selection Score	13.7	18.2	21.1	17.0	15.8	13.9	14.8	14.1	14.0	13.6		

Note.--For Tables 5 - 8 all values presented are percentages unless otherwise noted. Except where specified, all variables presented significantly differentiate ($p < .05$) between groups attending the five types of colleges.

mothers and fathers of students in private Negro colleges. Among white institutions there was a modest, though general, trend for students from more advantaged family backgrounds to enroll in more highly selective colleges. Consequently, the highly selective colleges enrolled the smallest proportion of students having economically and educationally disadvantaged family backgrounds. Less than 17% of these students in highly selective schools had unskilled fathers; only about one-fourth had fathers who were not high school graduates. The proportion of parents who were college graduates was highest in the highly selective schools, where slightly over one-third of the students reported that their mothers and fathers had completed college.

Within this group, nine out of ten entrants into predominantly Negro colleges graduated from a high school which was 90% or more black. Entrants to the primarily white colleges tended to come from high schools with more diverse racial mixes: the high schools of one-third were comprised of less than 20% blacks; an additional one-third came from high schools with moderate (20-89%) black representation. A final third of these able black students in white colleges came from overwhelmingly black (90% or more) high schools, and therefore, college, for many, provided their first experiences in an interracial academic environment.

Students attending primarily Negro colleges were twice as likely to have attended high school in the South as those who selected white colleges. Virtually every enrollee in the public Negro colleges came from the South, and only about 15% of students going to private Negro colleges came from outside the South. Southern origin was also related to selectivity of white institutions, with some 40% of the students in the low selectivity schools coming from the South, in contrast to one-fourth of those in high selectivity schools.

Students entering the white colleges generally came from larger high schools than those attending Negro colleges; the high schools of students in the public

Negro colleges were particularly small. Entrants to the primarily Negro colleges came from smaller high schools, but they also tended to rank higher in their high school classes than those who enrolled in predominantly white colleges. The data in Tables 1 and 2 suggest that this somewhat paradoxical result occurred because entrants to the primarily white colleges came from academically more competitive high schools.

These students are among the highest ranking black students in their respective classes, but they range more widely on standardized test measures. Scores on the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test (NMSQT) differentiated the entrants to the five types of colleges more sharply than any other continuous variable. As reflected by the omega-squared values in Table 5, the differentiation using NMSQT scores was similar for men and women. Of the five NMSQT subtests, Word Usage showed the strongest differences. The mean NMSQT composite score for those in public Negro colleges was at approximately the 60th percentile on the national eleventh grade norms, while for those in highly selective white colleges the mean was at the 90th percentile; the difference between these means was approximately two standard deviations.

The trend of the NMSQT scores by college type was essentially the reverse of that found for high school rank. While the Negro colleges tended to enroll the students with the highest class ranks, the white colleges enrolled students with the highest NMSQT scores. Even within the white schools, NMSQT scores were strongly related to college selectivity, with a full standard deviation difference between the means for low and high selectivity white colleges and universities.

SUCCESS IN COLLEGE ENTRANCE

The winners of National Achievement Scholarships were unevenly distributed among the five types of colleges (Table 6). Only one woman Scholar entered a public Negro college, and the white low selectivity colleges attracted only a

Table 6

Success in College Entrance for Able Men and Women Attending Different Types of Colleges

Success in College Entrance	Type of College Attended									
	Predominantly Negro				Predominantly White					
	Private		Public		Low Sel.		Mod. Sel.		High Sel.	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	127	288	53	191	90	212	141	193	193	187
SCHOLARSHIPS										
National Achievement Scholar	7.1	6.6	0.0	0.5	1.1	5.2	10.6	11.9	36.3	33.7
Awarded no scholarship	19.7	17.9	28.9	31.9	27.8	31.6	19.7	24.4	6.8	8.1
APPLICATIONS										
Applied to 4 or more colleges	41.0	27.5	13.2	15.2	30.0	22.4	36.4	26.6	55.2	54.3
Accepted by 4 or more colleges	33.9	26.9	18.9	18.9	23.3	20.3	27.0	24.4	42.2	40.3
Enrolled in first choice college	34.4	48.8	43.4	53.7	57.3	57.6	64.5	63.2	68.4	67.4

few Scholars. More successful in attracting Scholars were the private Negro colleges and the moderate and high selectivity white schools. A full third of these able students in highly selective white colleges and universities were winners of Achievement Scholarships.

Over the total sample of students, 80% reported receiving some form of scholarship during their freshman year in college. Students in the highly selective (and well endowed) white colleges were particularly likely to have received a scholarship, with only 7% of the men and 8% of the women not receiving some form of financial assistance.

Students enrolling in the public Negro colleges were least active in applying to a large number of colleges, while students in the highly selective white colleges were most likely to have applied to a large number of colleges. A similar pattern was apparent for number of college acceptances.

Students in the largely white schools, particularly the more selective

ones, most frequently enrolled in their first choice college. Only 34% of the men in private Negro colleges had enrolled in their first choice college; perhaps they preferred a predominantly white college, but were not admitted or lacked the necessary finances.

FIRST YEAR OF COLLEGE

Approximately equal numbers of these students in private Negro colleges and highly selective white colleges left their home state to travel a considerable distance to their colleges (Table 7). There was a mild trend, within all types of colleges, for men more frequently than women to attend college away from their home state. Over one-fourth of the students in moderate and low selectivity white colleges were living at home, while less than 8% of the students in highly selective colleges were living at home.

Patterns of college financing varied markedly for students in the five types of colleges. Students in the most selective white colleges tended to have the heaviest college expenses, yet were most likely to have scholarships providing more than 50% of their support, and least likely to be receiving major support from loans. For four out of ten students in public Negro colleges loans provided more than 30% of their financial support.

One of the most intriguing results is the pattern of grades received by these students in different colleges. In general, the freshmen in Negro colleges received higher grades; one-fourth received average grades of B+ or higher while grades this high were obtained by only about 10% of students in the primarily white institutions. The difference in grades between Negro and white schools is the reverse of the difference in NMSQT scores, shown earlier in Table 5. These results are depicted in Figure 1, where NMSQT selection scores and freshman grades have been standardized for the Commended group and plotted for each of the college types. The highest grades were obtained by students in the predominantly Negro colleges, despite the fact that they had the lowest

Table 7

First Year of College for Able Men and Women Attending Different Types of Colleges

First Year of College	Type of College Attended: Predominantly Negro, Private M	Predominantly Negro, Private F	Predominantly Negro, Public M	Predominantly Negro, Public F	Predominantly White, Low Sel. M	Predominantly White, Low Sel. F	Predominantly White, Mod. Sel. M	Predominantly White, Mod. Sel. F	Predominantly White, High Sel. M	Predominantly White, High Sel. F	Omega Squared M	Omega Squared F
N=	127	288	53	191	90	212	141	193	193	187		
LOCATION OF COLLEGE												
Over 200 miles from home	61.1	54.5	30.2	25.4	34.8	24.3	36.9	39.6	67.6	61.0		
College in home state	32.3	39.4	94.3	85.7	73.3	81.6	68.1	63.7	33.1	33.9		
Lived at home	7.1	8.3	5.8	13.8	30.3	34.0	25.0	26.7	3.7	7.5		
Lived in college dormitory	92.9	91.0	92.3	83.6	62.9	62.7	70.7	71.2	95.3	92.5		
COLLEGE FINANCES												
More than 10% of support from earnings	21.6	15.9	38.3	20.9	42.2	23.5	37.4	19.2	30.4	11.4		
Scholarship more than 50% of support	45.9	35.8	22.9	20.0	27.9	26.0	44.0	32.3	61.3	52.5		
Loans more than 30% of support	23.1	23.2	41.9	42.8	18.8	27.0	16.4	15.7	6.5	7.3		
Room and board more than $800	12.1	5.7	0.0	1.1	21.3	21.3	49.3	47.1	73.6	80.3		
Tuition more than $1,000	1.6	4.3	0.0	0.5	14.4	16.2	34.3	34.8	86.1	81.4		
Books, etc., more than $200	15.3	18.4	2.0	8.6	19.1	20.0	25.2	25.0	42.4	34.8		
Personal expenses more than $200	38.1	35.7	14.3	21.1	47.1	38.8	56.9	50.3	68.4	65.2		
ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE												
GPA: B+ or higher	24.2	25.5	28.8	27.5	12.3	10.4	10.9	14.7	3.7	7.3		
GPA: C, C+, B-, or B	68.5	70.3	59.6	67.7	66.3	70.6	66.7	68.4	73.8	73.0		
GPA: C-, or less	7.3	4.2	11.6	4.8	21.4	19.0	22.4	16.8	22.5	19.7		
Mean GPA index	6.0	6.2	6.0	6.3	5.1	5.1	4.9	5.3	4.7	5.0	.08	.09
Recognition for academic achievement	46.8	51.4	50.9	60.1	22.2	19.9	16.6	21.1	18.7	15.5		
Failed a freshman course*	19.5	16.2	21.2	15.8	28.7	22.6	34.3	22.0	25.1	15.4		
COLLEGE SATISFACTION												
Mean satisfaction with performance*	2.25	2.53	2.42	2.52	2.30	2.25	2.16	2.37	2.08	2.26	.01	.02
Mean satisfaction with college choice	2.95	3.19	3.10	3.07	3.14	3.04	3.13	3.16	3.42	3.35	.04	.01
Satisfied with college performance*	39.7	55.1	50.9	55.0	44.4	36.8	34.5	44.5	29.3	39.8		
Completely satisfied with college choice	28.8	39.2	28.9	32.6	33.3	36.8	40.3	46.1	55.3	55.6		
Satisfied with college choice	73.6	85.0	80.8	79.0	84.4	75.5	78.4	74.3	88.9	82.9		
College as expected or better*	78.0	84.0	84.9	79.1	86.7	75.9	83.3	77.1	86.0	81.2		
PERSISTENCE												
Completed freshman year***	96.8	97.2	94.3	96.3	95.6	96.2	95.7	96.2	97.9	98.4		
Planned to return to same college in 1966**	92.1	90.5	94.3	94.8	93.3	87.2	86.4	88.1	95.7	91.4		

Note.--GPA computed on a scale where C=4, C+=5, B=6, etc.

* Not significant at .05 level for males.

** Not significant at .05 level for females.

*** Not significant at .05 level for either males or females.

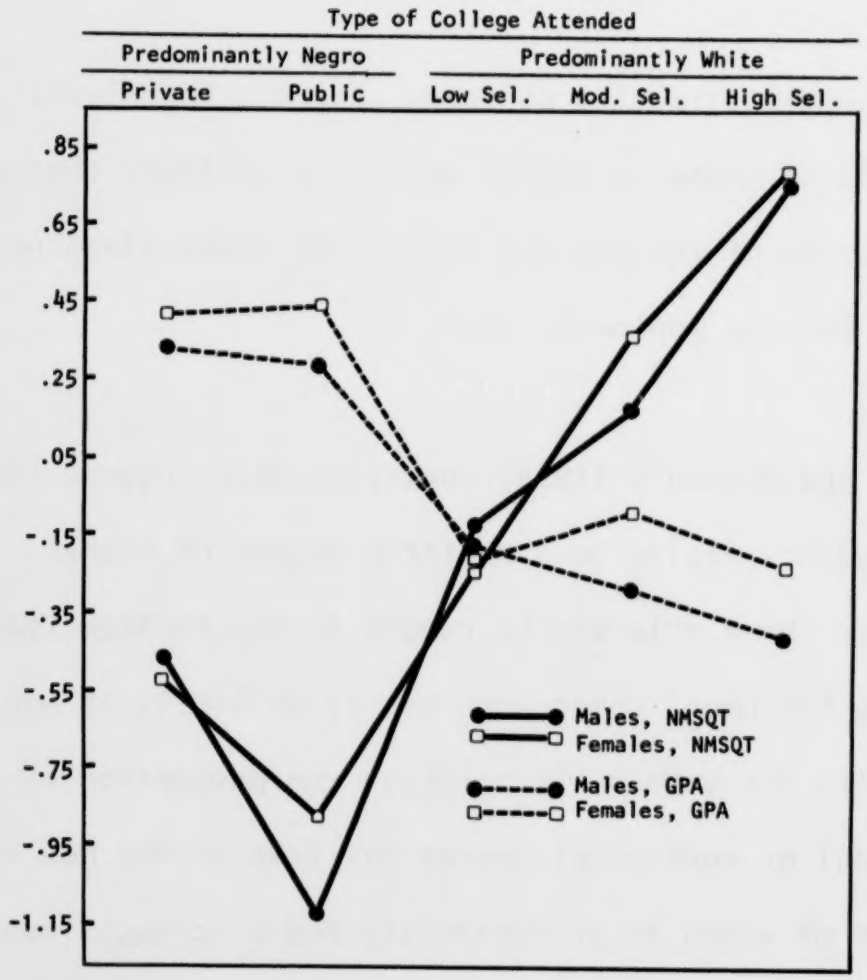

Fig. 1. Mean NMSQT selection score and freshman GPA for men and women in five types of colleges. (Means are converted to unit normal deviates.)

NMSQT scores. Within the white institutions, mean NMSQT scores covaried markedly with the level of college selectivity, but average grades did not.

The preceding results suggest that many of the most able of these black students have entered college environments which are extremely competitive and where academic rewards are not easily obtained--by blacks or whites. Thus, fewer than 20% of the freshmen in the highly selective colleges received recognition for academic achievement, but one-half of the freshmen in primarily Negro colleges reported such recognition. Moreover, students in the most competitive colleges were least satisfied with their freshman-year performance (Table 7), probably reflecting the disparity between their expectations and their performance. Nevertheless, despite their relative dissatisfaction with their personal performance, the students in the highly selective colleges were most likely to express satisfaction with their college choice. Further,

students in the highly selective colleges showed a high level of college persistence, with 98% of those in highly selective colleges completing their freshman year and 96% of the men and 91% of the women planning to return to the same college for the sophomore year.

CHOICES AND GOALS

While Bayer and Boruch's (1969) normative data suggest that about 60% of black college students aspire to a master's degree or higher, the comparable rate (Table 8) for these able blacks ranges across college types from 74% to 94%. Among these freshmen, women were nearly as likely as men to plan work up to the master's, but across all colleges the proportion of students planning for a doctoral or equivalent degree was greater for men than for women. A sizeable number of women in predominantly Negro colleges aspired to doctoral level degrees, exceeding the level for women in all other colleges except the highly selective. Men in the Negro colleges similarly had higher aspirations than men in the low selectivity white colleges. The highest educational aspirations were expressed by men in the highly selective white colleges, where 68.6% planned to work for a doctoral level degree.

College majors in the social sciences were frequently chosen by these able students, especially the women, and the popularity of the social sciences increased with the selectivity level of the white colleges. Among women, education was a popular career objective, although its popularity fell off in the most selective white colleges.

Respondents to the 1966 followup rated the personal importance they ascribed to 35 specific life goals (cf., Richards, 1966). Only the eight life goal items which significantly differentiated ($p < .05$) either males or females in the five types of colleges are shown in Table 8. Each item was rated as "Of little importance," "Somewhat important," "Very important," or "Essential";

Table 8

Choices and Goals for Able Men and Women Attending Different Types of Colleges

Choices and Goals	Type of College Attended: Predominantly Negro, Private M	F	Predominantly Negro, Public M	F	Predominantly White, Low Sel. M	F	Mod. Sel. M	F	High Sel. M	F	Omega Squared M	F
N=	127	288	53	191	90	212	141	193	193	187		
EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS												
Doctoral or equivalent degree	55.8	37.0	43.1	33.5	39.1	24.8	51.1	25.5	68.6	35.2		
Master's degree or higher	90.8	84.0	76.5	78.7	83.9	74.3	79.3	77.1	93.7	83.0		
CHOICE OF MAJOR FIELD												
Engineering	8.7	0.0	18.9	0.5	16.7	0.0	19.4	0.0	20.3	1.1		
Physical and Natural Sciences	48.0	30.8	43.4	34.5	27.8	24.1	28.8	21.7	23.4	17.7		
Health Sciences	7.9	9.1	9.4	5.2	5.6	9.9	7.9	8.8	5.7	3.8		
Social Sciences	14.2	19.9	5.7	13.6	16.7	22.2	16.6	26.9	26.6	39.3		
Education	3.9	7.3	7.5	11.5	2.2	15.1	0.7	13.0	1.0	1.6		
Other	13.4	29.0	15.1	34.0	30.0	25.9	23.0	25.9	14.6	28.0		
Undecided	3.9	3.9	0.0	0.5	1.1	2.8	3.6	3.6	8.3	8.6		
CHOICE OF CAREER FIELD												
Engineering	18.1	0.4	22.6	1.6	17.8	0.9	19.3	0.0	19.0	1.1		
Physical and Natural Sciences	15.0	13.2	22.6	12.1	15.6	8.5	12.1	7.3	10.5	9.3		
Health Sciences	21.3	17.4	13.2	13.2	10.0	16.1	13.6	15.7	16.3	9.8		
Social Sciences	3.9	15.3	5.7	11.6	7.8	12.8	4.3	14.1	5.3	18.0		
Education	10.2	30.3	17.0	34.7	11.1	40.8	7.9	29.8	8.4	15.9		
Other	26.0	19.5	15.1	24.2	28.9	15.2	30.0	22.0	22.6	27.3		
Undecided	5.5	3.8	3.8	2.6	8.9	5.7	12.9	11.0	17.9	18.6		
LIFE GOALS: Mean Ratings												
Becoming authority in field	3.13	3.04	3.09	3.04	2.84	2.74	2.76	2.71	2.89	2.62	.02	.04
Doing something to make parents proud	3.05	3.20	3.15	3.23	3.05	3.12	2.87	2.94	2.72	2.67	.02	.05
Following formal religious code	2.75	3.00	3.15	3.30	2.88	2.87	2.61	2.56	2.16	2.15	.08	.12
Being active in religious affairs	2.53	2.86	2.96	3.10	2.57	2.78	2.43	2.29	1.98	1.95	.08	.15
Engaging in stimulating activities	2.82	2.69	2.67	2.48	2.67	2.80	2.92	2.89	3.20	3.20	.05	.07
Being successful in own business	2.43	2.12	2.74	2.19	2.23	1.93	2.24	1.68	1.90	1.50	.05	.07
Becoming expert in finance and commerce*	1.79	1.67	1.92	1.79	1.81	1.52	1.81	1.37	1.65	1.27	.00	.05
Having executive responsibility*	2.27	2.10	2.23	2.09	2.28	2.03	2.36	1.90	2.15	1.70	.00	.03

* Not significant at the .05 level for males.

scores of 1 to 4 were given to these responses so that a high score represented a high degree of importance.

The two life goals on which students in the five types of colleges differed most involve religion: "following a formal religious code," and "being active in religious affairs." The strongest religious orientation was indicated by the students in the public Negro colleges, and the least by those in the highly selective white colleges. Of the three life goals related to business ("being successful in a business of my own," "becoming an expert in finance and commerce," and "having executive responsibility for the work of others") there were consistent and significant trends for women; the strongest business ambitions appeared for women in the primarily Negro colleges, with business interests in the white colleges inversely related to college selectivity. Similar trends for life goals in business appeared for men in the five types of colleges, but they were statistically significant only for the life goal of "being successful in a business of my own."

DISCUSSION

While the major intent of this study has been to compare the backgrounds and experiences of able black students in different colleges, the high level of college performance by these students should not go unmentioned. As reflected by their high level of educational aspiration, the vast majority of these able black men and women are strongly committed to the values of higher education. This commitment is further reflected by their general tendency to enroll in the nation's most selective colleges. Although many attended colleges where the academic challenges are severe for all students, their first-year academic performance was more than satisfactory. Of the students in predominantly white colleges, including many colleges which are highly competitive, about 80% received average freshman grades of C or better, and nearly one out of five received recognition for academic achievement. Nearly all students in

this sample completed the freshman year, and nine out of ten planned to return to the same college for the sophomore year. There is little doubt that as a group these freshmen students made commendable progress in fulfilling their earlier promise for academic achievement.

The factors which seemed to contribute most to differences among these able black students in different kinds of colleges were SES, geographic region, and performance on a standardized test (NMSQT). These patterns of differences in student background were remarkedly similar for men and women. Moreover, many of the differences found for these black students, notably SES and standardized test performance, are similar to those which have consistently been related to whites' access to higher education (cf., Jencks, 1968).

It is clear that these five types of colleges only partially account for the substantial heterogeneity among colleges. There is little doubt that there are sizeable differences among many of the colleges grouped together in this study. This paper has emphasized general trends differentiating the students who attended these five types of colleges, but it is equally clear that for nearly every variable which has been reported there is variability within college types, and thus there are some students who do not fit the general pattern for students in a given type of college.

Although there is some risk of overgeneralizing, the five types of colleges discussed may be fairly accurately ordered on a single dimension, representing the similarity of the student groups they enrolled from this sample of able black students. At one end of the dimension would be the public Negro colleges, which enrolled students primarily from segregated high schools in the South, with lower SES background, and lower performance on standardized tests. In keeping with their traditional role as "opportunity" colleges, the public Negro colleges enrolled, from these outstanding high school students, those who were least advantaged, both economically and educationally.

Next on this dimension of similarity would be the private Negro colleges and the "low" selectivity white colleges. In some ways, these colleges had entrants so similar that it is difficult to order them. Although entrants to the private Negro colleges were more likely to come from the South and to score slightly lower on the NMSQT than entrants to the low selectivity white schools, the entrants to private Negro colleges expressed generally higher educational aspirations than those in the low selectivity white colleges.

Continuing this ordering of the five college types, one would next place the moderately selective white colleges, and then finally at the extreme of the continuum, the highly selective white colleges. The highly selective colleges enrolled the smallest proportion of students from the South, from non-integrated high schools, and from educationally and economically disadvantaged family backgrounds.

Many of the factors which previous research has identified as differentiating black students attending predominantly Negro and white institutions were also operative with this sample of able blacks. In agreement with the present study, recent surveys (e.g., Bayer and Boruch, 1969; Hartnett, 1969) have found that black entrants to traditionally white colleges more frequently come from outside the South, are more advantaged socioeconomically, and score higher on standardized tests. Similar patterns were found by Blumenfeld (1968), who examined the college preferences, rather than actual attendance, for Finalists in the second Achievement Program competition.

The Negro colleges, especially the public ones, attracted students--even from this sample of outstanding high school students--who were similar to their traditional homogeneous student populations. Specifically, they enrolled almost exclusively southern students of lower SES and lower performance on standardized tests. A survey by Jaffe et al. (1966) indicated that the predominantly Negro colleges have a "great interest in expansion, development and

improvement." Related to the plans of the Negro colleges for growth is a desire to recruit a more diversified student population. Such diversity, Jaffe et al. (1966) report, would include more superior students, more blacks from integrated high schools, and more students from diverse geographic backgrounds. Presumably, the predominantly Negro colleges can attain this diversity only by attracting some of the able black students who are now attending other colleges. The highly selective white colleges also appear to have enrolled a relatively homogeneous subset of these students, but a subset which is very unlike the entrants to the primarily Negro colleges, particularly the public ones.

Hartnett (1969) has compared the attitudes and college orientations of black students attending traditionally Negro and white colleges. He concludes that to the extent to which the primarily white institutions are attracting the black students with higher performance on tests of academic aptitude, "they are also attracting those with a quite different set of attitudes, background characteristics, and orientations toward college than those who attend traditionally Negro colleges." Hartnett's data suggest that the great influence of standardized test scores in the admissions sorting process leads to corollary differences among colleges in the attitudes and orientations of their students. Since, as the present study shows, black students within white colleges of varying selectivity are also highly differentiated with respect to standardized test scores, it is probable that the low and high selectivity white colleges are also enrolling black students with important attitudinal differences.

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